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# SURVEY

*of Communist Propaganda*

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# SURVEY OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

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## THE USSR

### POLEMIC POEM BY TVARDOVSKIY PUBLISHED IN WEST EUROPE

A remarkable poem by Aleksandr Tvardovskiy, editor--probably former editor--of NOVY MIR, has been published in the Russian emigre journal POSEV (October 1969), in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE (5 December 1969) in German translation, and in other West European journals.\* On 11 February LITERARY GAZETTE published a letter from Tvardovskiy protesting against publication of "my still unpublished poem" in the West. Tvardovskiy said that the poem had been falsely portrayed as "banned in the USSR" and that it had been published "against my will" and in "incomplete or distorted form." But the only distortion he cites is the "impudent" substitution of the title "Over Stalin's Ashes" for the author's title "By Memory" or "The Right to Remember."

POSEV's editors say their underground copy is part of a longer version which was originally intended for publication in NOVY MIR and had actually been set up in type when the order banning its publication arrived.

The publication of his suppressed work abroad presumably provided grounds for the recent moves against Tvardovskiy--just as it did in the cases of Solzhenitsyn, Ivan Dzyuba, and others. Tvardovskiy's letter protesting foreign publication of his poem appeared at the same time as the announcement of the shakeup of NOVY MIR's editorial board, removing Tvardovskiy's closest collaborators (LITERARY GAZETTE, 11 February). Subsequent Western press reports that Tvardovskiy resigned as NOVY MIR chief editor as of 13 February have so far been neither confirmed nor denied by Moscow.

The poem plainly issues a direct challenge to the regime in regard to its efforts to whitewash the crimes of the Stalin era. In the poem, Tvardovskiy recalls with a sense of guilt the Stalin era and his own youth. His father, despite steadfast loyalty to the party, was falsely pronounced a kulak and shipped off to a labor camp.

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\* A full English translation will appear in a forthcoming issue of "Translations on USSR Political and Sociological Affairs," JPRS.

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(Tvardovskiy was a correspondent for a local Smolensk paper when his blacksmith father was arrested in the early 1930's. He came into prominence after authoring an epic poem "The Land Muraviya" in 1936, in which he hailed the collectivization drive and vilified the kulaks; in 1941 he won a Stalin Prize.)

Now, through the medium of his poem, Tvardovskiy seeks to explain, but not to justify, his actions to himself and to the youth of today. Young people, he says, cannot understand what life was like when one bore the stigma "son of an enemy of the people":

You are always at hand  
In case there is a shortage of class enemies.  
You are ready for public torment  
And for what is sometimes worse  
-- When your best friend  
Cannot look you in the eye . . . .  
How it is to live with such a label  
-- How it is to serve out this limitless sentence  
Is written about by the author of these lines  
--And not from hearsay or from a book

Then Tvardovskiy tells of the happy day when Stalin removed the curse from him by announcing that henceforth "a son does not answer for his father":

You, the young, cannot comprehend  
What is contained in these words.  
They were pronounced in the Kremlin hall  
By him who for all of us  
Was the one ruler of earthly destinies . . . .  
You didn't expect it, didn't even hope it  
And suddenly--you're completely innocent.  
Your torments are at an end,  
Be cheerful, don't hide your face.  
Thank the father of the peoples  
For forgiving you your real father.

In a more important sense, however--Tvardovskiy says--the son must still answer for his father, must speak up even at this late hour for the falsely accused father. And all must answer for the evils committed by "the common father," by Stalin. The hard questions must be asked: Why did it happen? Why did the poet's generation show such blind obedience to Stalin?

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Tvardovskiy does not pretend to have found the answer to these questions, but he declares the answer must be sought: We must remember, and must speak of that which we remember, because only through recalling the past can we hope to understand it.

Those who zealously hide the past  
Are also out of touch with the future.

Finally, the poet addresses himself to those who wish to censor criticism of the past, and who perhaps long for a new Stalin:

And you who perhaps are striving  
To regain the former paradise  
You had better call Stalin --  
He was a god, he can rise.  
And that he can easily appear  
In the world, this god-father  
Is attested to  
By his Chinese model.

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## COMMUNIST CHINA

NEW PARTY UNITS AS REPORTED IN PRC MEDIA SINCE NINTH CONGRESS

Judging solely by the output of the propaganda media, the campaign to rebuild the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), now almost one year old, has produced only meager, uneven results. Of the PRC's 29 provinces and municipalities, county-level party committees have been reported only in Hunan and Heilungkiang, and only Kwangtung claims a rebuilt committee at the city level. While 14 other areas report basic-level advances in party building, 12 provinces, some with large minority populations, have made no apparent progress, although a few have CCP core groups up to the provincial level. The effort to rebuild the Communist Youth League (CYL), ordered in the joint PEOPLE'S DAILY-RED FLAG-LIBERATION ARMY DAILY editorial celebrating the 48th anniversary of the CCP last July, has only produced one new party branch, in Nanking.

Peking media, continuing a cautious approach to publicizing new party units, have mentioned only a few basic-level units from selected provinces. The county committees in Hunan and Heilungkiang and the city committee for Maoming, a lesser Kwangtung city, have not been mentioned. On 17 February, Peking radio reported on a general party branch in a Maoming factory, but failed to mention the city level committee there.

The table on the next page shows the extent of progress in party reconstruction by province, region, and special municipality, as claimed in public media. The broadest claims for each particular area are itemized; some reports of new party branches at the lowest levels may be omitted in regard to areas where claims have been relatively numerous. References to provincial-level CCP core groups have been noted, although these are only the precursors to the promised new party organs. Notation has been made in all instances where provincial-level radios have been solidly relaying Radio Peking and thus broadcasting no local news.

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## NEW PARTY UNITS AS REPORTED IN PRC MEDIA SINCE NINTH CONGRESS

<u>PROVINCE</u>	<u>DATE/SOURCE</u>	<u>TYPE</u>
<u>North China</u>		
Hopeh		(no local broadcasts since Oct 1968)
Inner Mongolia	Huhehot radio	regional CCP core group mentioned (no local broadcasts since 5 Jan)
Peking	15 Dec, NCNA 16 Dec, NCNA	party committee, Hsinhua plant party branches, Tsinghua University
Shansi		(no local broadcasts from Aug 69 to 3 Jan)
Tientsin		(no local broadcasts monitored)
<u>Northwest</u>		
Kansu	5 Nov, Lanchow	party committee for entire factory after basic branches established
Ningsia	30 Jan, Yinchuan	"most basic-level organizations after consolidation have restored organiza- tional life"
Shensi	30 Dec, Sian	"80% of basic units have started party consolidation"
<u>Sinkiang</u>		
Tsinghai	5 Aug, Sining	party committee, Tsinghai provincial administrative bureau of electric power
<u>Northeast</u>		
Heilungkiang	9 Sept, Harbin 9 Feb, Harbin 9 Feb, Harbin	party branch, plant provincial CCP core group mentioned first county committee in province
Kirin		
Liaoning	21 June, NCNA 6 Feb, NCNA 5 Feb, Shenyang	party branch, brigade in Shenyang party committee, factory in Shenyang party branch functioning in factory

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<u>PROVINCE</u>	<u>DATE/SOURCE</u>	<u>TYPE</u>
<u>Southwest</u>		
Kweichow		(no local broadcasts since last Sept)
Szechwan		(no local broadcasts since last Nov)
Tibet		
Yunnan		
<u>East China</u>		
Anhwei	26 Nov, Hofei 30 Oct, Hofei	party branch, factory party branch, local brigade
Chekiang	2 Feb, Hangchow	"some basic-level units have set up party branches"
Fukien		
Kiangsi	16 July, Nanchang	party branch, factory
Kiangsu	28 July, Nanking 11 Sept, Nanking 9 Feb, Nanking	party branch general committee, factory party branch, brigade of CYL party committee, commune
Shanghai	21 June, Shanghai 1 July, Shanghai	party committee, factory party committee, factory
Shantung	Tsinan, Tsingtao	provincial CCP core group mentioned

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<u>PROVINCE</u>	<u>DATE/SOURCE</u>	<u>TYPE</u>
<u>Central-South</u>		
Honan	16 Dec, Chengchow	party committee, factory
Hunan	23 Sept, Changsha	first party committee in province, commune
	7 Nov, Changsha	party committee, Hsiangtan iron works
	2 Dec, Changsha	first county committee in province
	30 Dec, Changsha	total 7 county committees claimed as well as several at basic levels in province
	9 Jan, Changsha	party committee, Shaoshan commune
Hupei	8 July, Wuhan	party committee, brigade
	1 Dec. Wuhan	party committee, factory
Kwangsi		
Kwangtung	1 Feb, NCNA	provincial CCP core group mentioned
	1 Feb, Canton	city party committee, Maoming
	11 Feb, Canton	party branch, middle school
	17 Feb, Peking	general party branch, Maoming factory
	25 Feb, NCNA	party committee, Canton factory

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